The Southern PATRIOT

Volume 2 | Nashville, Tennessee, May, 1944 | Number 5

TRENDS

"Collective bargaining must be so extended that the mind of the worker has an opportunity to express itself in improving the industrial process and thus make the job a creative task. . . The new relationship of worker and employer calls for a frank facing of the fact that collective bargaining is an expression of democratic principle."

—BISHOP ARTHUR J. MOORE, of Atlanta, Ga., in keynote message from the Council of Bishops to the General Conference of the Methodist Church, Kansas City, Mo., April, 1944.

* * *

The Florida Voters' League, "To promote the general welfare by furnishing information on candidates and measures" has been formed. Membership fee $1.00; secretary Edwin L. Clarke, Winter Park, Fla.

* * *

The average needy aged person in the South receives $13.48 per month, only one-half the national average of $26.65. In a recent month 223,469 needy persons in 6 Southern states, Ga., S. C., Tenn., Ala., Miss., Fla., received $3,012,671 in old-age assistance, while 157,746 aged persons in California received $7,438,399. The federal government matches state payments on a 50-50 basis up to $20 per person. Truly, "To him that hath, it shall be given."

* * *

Five hundred and fifty-six of Alabama's 1,783 lumber mills are closed because of manpower shortage. . .

* * *

The school hot lunch program defeated in the House (see April PATRIOT) may be saved in the Senate. Pressure from home is having its effect. Senators Russell, of Ga.; Smith, of S. C.; Ellender, of La., have introduced bills similar to the House-rejected measure.

* * *

The United Auto Workers-CIO is buying the former home of Edsel Ford in Detroit to house the UAW Medical Research Institute. . .

* * *

Sen. "Pappy" O'Daniel is the presidential choice of Harry Woodring's anti-Roosevelt American Democratic Natl. Committee. Travelling with Woodring in Texas was Robt. M. Harris, financial advisor to Rev. Chas. E. Coughlin and J. E. McDonald, state commissioner of agriculture.

(Continued on Page 8.)

Southerners Acclaim Primary Court Decision

The Supreme Court decision affirming the constitutional right of Negroes to vote in Texas primaries "will be welcomed by all freedom-loving Americans," says a statement sponsored by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and signed by several hundred ministers, educators, business men, labor leaders and housewives.

The decision is a "powerful aid to victory," the statement declares. It will fortify the morale of our armed forces, giving them "renewed confidence in our good faith in adhering to democratic principles on the home front."

Withholding the vote from citizens who are taxed and drafted is a contradiction of democracy, the statement affirms. Such a practice is to adopt the "hatred dogma of our fascist enemies." The statement was released by Dr. Clark H. Foreman, of Black Mountain College, President.

The statement in full reads:

"The eight to one decision of the United States Supreme Court on April 2nd affirming the constitutional right of Negroes to vote in Democratic primaries in Texas will be welcomed by all freedom-loving Americans.

'It may now be taken as a postulate,' Justice Reed's decision read, 'that the right to vote in such a primary for the nomination of candidates without discrimination by the State, like the right to vote in general elections, is a right secured by the Constitution.

'By the terms of the 15th Amendment, that right may not be abridged by any State on account of race. Under the Constitution, the great privilege of choosing his rulers may not be denied a man by the State because of his color.'

"This nation is now engaged in a desperate struggle in which the central issue is the survival of democratic institutions. By depriving our enemies of a powerful propaganda weapon and by giving our fighting forces renewed confidence in our good faith in adhering to democratic principles on the home front, this decision must be considered as a powerful aid to victory.

"To deprive a person of the right to vote and at the same time to subject that person to taxatio nand military service is a flagrant contradiction of the democracy upon which this nation was founded. It is to practice the hated dogma of our fascist enemies.

"This historic decision is a bulwark to the freedom of all Americans, for so long as any group can be discriminated against because of race, religion, nationality or other arbitrary reason, just so long will the liberties of all be in jeopardy."

(Continued on Page 2.)

Southerners Acclaim Supreme Court Primary Decision

(Continued from Page 1.)

Among the signers of the statement are:

(Note: Organizations are mentioned for identification only.)

Alabama

Rev. Albert E. Barnett, Minister of the Methodist Church, member Ala. Conf.; Judge Louise O. Charlton, U. S. Commissioner, Birmingham; President F. D. Patterson, Tuskegee Institute; Gilbert A. Sanford, Ala. State Planning Bd.; Rev. D. C. Whitsett, St. Mark's Methodist Church, Montgomery; Carey E. Haigler, Ass't Reg. Dir. CIO, Birmingham; Ulus Eugene Mims, Advisor, YMCA, University of Ala.; Mrs. J. B. Nichols, Sec'y Christian Social Relations, Methodist Woman's Society of Christian Service, Ala. Conf.; Homer Wilson, Int'l Exec. Bd. Member, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, Bessemer; Mack Hankins, Port Agent, National Maritime Union, Mobile; F. W. Stange, Ass't. Gen. Chmn. Sou. Railway Dispatchers Asso.; Louis Burnham, Administrative Sec'y, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Birmingham; J. H. Richardson, East Tallahassee; Mrs. J. H. McCoy, Montevallo; Marion D. Brown, Southern Union College; Mrs. I. B. Rutledge, Montgomery.

Arkansas

G. P. Casey, Atty., Hope; Rev. Samuel F. Freeman, Jr., Pulaski Heights Christian Church, Little Rock, Ark.; P. L. Dorman, Dubisson Ins. Assn., Little Rock; John Robert Ewbank, Philander Smith College; Joseph B. Hunter, War Relocation Authority, McGhee; Walter M. Purvis, Atty., Little Rock; Mrs. John Young, Sec'y-Treas., Order Eastern Star, Little Rock; Ethel K. Millar, Librarian, Conway; A. J. Horn, Locust Corner; A. C. Horn, Leslie.

Florida

Rev. Caxton Doggett, First Methodist Church, Mount Dora; Prof. Edwin L. Clarke, Rollins College; Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Pres. Emeritus, Bethune-Cookman College, Pres. Nat'l Council of Negro Women; Dr. Witherspoon Dodge, War Production Bd., Jacksonville; Prof. Royal Wilbur France, Rollins College; Daniel T. Hinckley, Anna Maria; Rev. Edward G. Maxted, Retired Minister, Episcopal Church, Warrenton; Prof. Paul W. Shankweiller, Florida State College for Women; Stetson Kennedy, Southern Folklore Society, Miami; Mary Connelly McMillan; Pensacola; Mrs. Bertha W. Finner, Tallahassee; Mary Anna Howard, Rosa Valdes Settlement, Tampa; Bertha W. Howe, Orlando; William Locke, Jacksonville; Rev. M. D. Potter, Tampa; Harold Lucas, Daytona Beach; Gladys W. Taber, Tampa.

Georgia

Mrs. E. G. Mackey, Ga. Council of Church Women, Atlanta; Brooks Spivey Creedy, Atlanta; President Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta University; W. H. Crawford, Dir. Dist. 35, United Steel Workers of America, Atlanta; Rev. S. C. W. Fleming, Rector, Church of Our Savior, Atlanta; Rev. Theodore L. Leverett, Retired Minister Congregational-Christian Church, Demorest; Mrs. Harry M. Gershon, Atlanta; Lucy R. Mason, Public Relations CIO, Atlanta; Kendall Weisiger, So. Bell Tel. Co., Atlanta; James C. Means, Principal High School, Comer; Lillian Smith, Ed. South Today, Clayton; Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Chmn., Woman's Society Christian Service, S. E. Jurisdiction, Methodist, Atlanta; S. B. Thomas, Augusta; Mrs. Alvin Ferst, Atlanta; Rev. C. T. Pratt, Church of God of the Union Assembly, Dalton; Rev. John G. Clark, Pastor Baptist Church, Acworth; Prof. Glenn W. Rainey, Ga. Tech.

Kentucky

Dean Julia F. Allen, Berea College; Joseph Cannon, Reg. Dir. CIO, Louisville; Prof. John J. Cronin, University of Louisville; Prof. Jameson M. Jones, Centre College, Danville; Mrs. Paul Phelps, Bagdad; Mrs. Geo. T. Settle, Consumers League, Louisville; Dean A. G. Weidler, Berea College, Harvey Curtiss Webster, Univ. of Louisville, Pres. Union for Democratic Action; Florence A. Young, Lexington; Rebecca Davis, Lexington; Marian Kingman, Berea College; A. D. Burroughs, M. D., Lexington; Rev. S. H. Garvin, Canon, Christ Church Cathedral, Louisville; Margarett Jennings, Danville; Wm. K. Johnson, Rep. Amer. Fed. of Musicians; Mrs. Lloyd A. Naveaux, Mrs. Wallace C. Kirby, Louisville; Grover G. Sales, Attorney, Louisville; Prof. Myron T. Hopper, College of the Bible, Lexington; The Rev. Mother Rachel Osa, Convent of St. Anne, Versailles.

Louisiana

Mrs. Chas. H. Behre, League of Women Voters, New Orleans; Dr. H. Horne Huggins, Baton Rouge; Rabbi Emil W. Leipziger, New Orleans; Rev. Rayben W. Porter, First Methodist Church, Shreveport; Herman C. Gray, Transport Workers, New Orleans; Reginald C. Raymond, Amer. Fed. of Gov. Employees, Lodge 452, New Orleans; Rev. R. E. Smith, Shreveport;

Mississippi

The Right Rev. Theodore D. Bratton, Bishop of Miss., Retired, Jackson; James A. Burns, Atty., Meridian; Rabbi Stanley R. Brav, Vicksburg; Dr. B. B. Dansby, Jackson College; Mrs. L. W. Alford, Methodist Woman's Society Christian Service, McComb; Rev. J. Ozd Cressap, Episcopal Rector, McComb; T. J. Huddleston, Sec'y Afro-American Sons and Daughters, Yasoo City; George B. Sells, Member, American Legion, Gulfport; Rev. R. L. Young, Meridian; Mrs. Paul Arrington, Women's Division, Methodist Church, Jackson.

North Carolina

A. W. McAllister, Past Pres. Pilot Life Ins. Co., Greensboro; Dr. N. C. Newbold, State Dept. of Ed., Raleigh; Prof. Lee M. Brooks, Chapel Hill; Pres. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Palmer Memorial Institute; Herman E. Cohen, Charlotte; Dr. Clark H. Foreman, Pres. So. Conf. Human Welfare, Black Mountain College; Pres. H. L. McCrorey, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte; Janet Nihlan, Pub. Affairs Comm., YWCA, Asheville; Prof. Oscar K. Rice, Univ. of N. C.; Mary S. Scheffer, Newton; Emma Lincoln Weaver, Asheville; Prof. Phillips Russell, Univ. of N. C.; Dr. Joseph Sholan, Piedmont Memorial Hospital, Greensboro; Pres. Mary E. Branch, Tillotson College; Mrs. Charles M. Smith, Chapel Hill; Lucy M. Bjorkman, Asheville; M. Teagua Hipps, Spruce Pine; S. Herbert Adams, Registrar, Johnson C. Smith Univ.; Dr. P. W. Gwynn, Jr., Davidson College; Hardy L. Scott, Int'l Rep. Fur & Leather Workers Union, Asheville; Olive D. Campbell, Brasstown; Otis L. Hairston, Baptist Informer, Raleigh; Ira R. Humphreys, Atty., Reidsville.

Oklahoma

Dr. Nick Comfort, Dean School of Religion, University of Oklahoma, Norman; Roscoe Dungee, Editor, Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City; Durward McDaniel, Atty., Norman; Dr. W. A. Bullock, Chickasha; Wm. Leonard Duncan, Blackwell; Rev. H. H. Lindeman, Oklahoma City.

South Carolina

Rev. James Appleby, Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Anderson; Rosa B. Cooley, Principal Emeritus, Penn School, St. Helena Island; Richard B. Ellis, Charleston; Rev. F. Clyde Helms, Minister, Shandon Baptist Church, Columbia; Jennie R. Seidman, Columbia; Ralph Westlake, Spartanburg.

Tennessee

Dr. H. D. Bollinger, Bd. of Ed. Methodist Church, Nashville; F. Woods Beekman, Knoxville; Mrs. O. B. Eisendrath, Chattanooga; Dorothy G. Barber, TVA, Knoxville; Rev. W. J. Faulkner, Fisk Univ.; Mrs. F. F. Frantz, League of Women Voters, Knoxville; Dr. Fleming James, Dean Sch. of Religion, Univ. of the South, Sewanee; Rev. Marshall Wingfield, National Commander, Sons of Confederate Veterans, Memphis; Dr. Corliss P. Hargraves, Joint Dept. of Missionary Ed., Methodist Church, Nashville; Rev. Chas. S. Johnson, Fisk Univ.; H. Olin Trey, Trinity Methodist Church, Chattanooga; Rev. R. H. Duncan, Pastor, Washington Pike Methodist Church, Knoxville; Mrs. Florence H. Cox, Bd. of Ed. Meth. Church, Nashville; J. L. Rollins, County Judge, Grundy Co., Altamont; Rene Stanfield, Int'l Rep. UCAPAWA, Memphis; Betty Ann Johnson, Vanderbilt Univ.; James F. Leahy, Int'l Asso. of Machinists, Knoxville; Josephine Berglund, Lillian Kelley, Bethlehem Community House Chattanooga; Dr. Geo. N. Mayhew, Vanderbilt Sch. of Religion; J. Alexander Looby, Atty., Nashville; Carl F. Albrecht, So. Reg. Dir., Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Nashville; Dr. Walter S. McCain, Cookeville; Dr. D. M. Mann, Scarritt College; Mortimer May, May Hosiery Mills, Nashville; Mary Morgan, Bus. Agent, ACWA, Local 90, Knoxville; James P. Morgan, Int'l Typographical Union, Nashville; Rev. Victor Obenhaus, Principal Pleasant Hill Academy; Dr. Edward T. Ramsdell, Vanderbilt Sch. of Religion; Rev. Lee Rippy, Jr., Methodist Church, Franklin; Rev. Vernon Robinson, Presbyterian Church, Allardt; Ernest Seesman, Erwin; Lynn Sheeley, Warrentown; Rev. Eugene Smathers, Minister Calvary Parish, Big Lick; W. I. Smith, Rep. United Gas, Coke & Chemical Workers, Knoxville; Dr. Alva W. Taylor, Ed. Mountain Life & Work, Sec'y-Treas. So. Conf. for Human Welfare, Nashville; Ina Sherrebeck, Gen. Sec'y, YWCA, Nashville; Rev. Dayton A. Dobbs, Pastor, Russell St. Presbyterian Church, Nashville; Chas. L. Dinkins, Sunday Sch. Pub. Bd., Nashville; W. M. Day, Nashville Globe; Arna Bontemps, Fisk Univ.; Rev. Arnold Olsen, Vanderbilt Univ.; Susan Peach Foster, Head Resident, Bethlehem Center, Nashville; W. H. Kirkpatrick, Nashville; Doris P. Dennison, Bd. of Ed., Methodist Church, Nashville; Rev. Raymond C. Rankin, Pastor, Presbyterian Church, Johnson City; Louise Goodloe, Gen. Sec'y., YWCA, Knoxville; Robt. Mitchell, Order Ry. Conductors.

Texas

Roy Bedichek, Dir. Bur. of Pub. Sch. Service, Div. of Ext., Univ. of Texas; Rabbi Henry Cohen, Galveston; Rev. Aubrey C. Maxted, Rector Episcopal Church, Houston; Homer Coffman, Oil Workers Int'l Union, Local 23, Port Arthur; Dr. John C. Granbery, Ed. The Emancipator, San Antonio; Frank Overturf, State Sec'y Texas Farmers Union; Rev. John C. Petrie, Pastor, First Unitarian Church, Houston; Mac Strauss, Sec'y Texas Comm. to Abolish the Poll Tax, Austin; Arthur J. Mandell, Atty., Houston; Carter Wesley, Ed. The Informer, Houston; X. Carson, Dallas; Oliver C. Cox, Wiley College.

Virginia

Francis Bear, teacher, Staunton; Virginia Foster Durr, Vice-Chmn. Nat'l Comm. to Abolish Poll Tax, Alexandria; Mrs. Carter H. Harrison, Hampton; Mrs. Charlotte Lloyd, Alexandria; Rev. A. T. Mollegen, Va. Theological Seminary, Alexandria; Ernest B. Pugh, Reg. Dir. CIO, Richmond; Mrs. Anne B. Gellman, Va. Comm. for Constitutional Rights, Richmond; Prof. Oscar H. Darter, Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg; M. C. Martin, Sec'y Nat'l Bankers Asso., Danville; Lois Taylor, Hampton Institute; Cornelia Adair, Richmond; Edgar S. Fraley, Norton.

FROM THE SOUTHERN PRESS

The Supreme Court and The Negro

THE RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

Since Negroes have been admitted to Democratic primaries in Virginia for many years, it is a little difficult to understand the tremendous amount of indignation and heat generated in the Deep South by the United States Supreme Court's decision that they have a right to enter such primaries everywhere. The skies haven't fallen in the Old Dominion because of participation by colored citizens in our primaries. Indeed, thousands of white Virginians probably did not know whether colored persons voted in this State's Democratic primaries or not, until the issue was brought sharply to the front by the court's decision.

It is argued that the poll tax keeps the Negro vote down in Virginia, and that consequently Negro participation in the primaries is of less significance than in States which have no poll tax. Then what of North Carolina, which has neither the poll tax nor the white primary, and which has a larger percentage of Negroes than Virginia? There is no evidence whatever that North Carolina has suffered any disabilities as a consequence of having neither poll tax nor a white primary.

Tennessee and Kentucky likewise do not have the white primary, and Kentucky has never had a poll tax. There is no reason to believe that the "white supremacy" which some Southern politicians are fond of apostrophizing on every occasion has been endangered in either of these States, any more than in Virginia or North Carolina.

If it is contended in the Deep South that the problem is more serious than the Upper South, the difference is merely one of degree. The percentage of Negroes in the total population ranges from 43 and 49 per cent in South Carolina and Mississippi, respectively. Here 27 per cent in Florida to 35 per cent in Georgia and Alabama, and in Virginia the percentage is 25 per cent, and in North Carolina it is 27. There are substantial areas in both Virginia and North Carolina where the Negroes outnumber the whites, just as there are in the States farther to the South. The absence of a white primary in Virginia, and of both a white primary and a poll tax in North Carolina has led to no important complications. Inter-racial relations are just as good in the "black belts" of those States as anywhere else, and they may be better.

So much for the social and political implications of the court's decision. That decision is one more milestone on the way to fairness and justice for the Negro. If millions of citizens are to be deprived of any voice in choosing their own public officials—as is the desires of certain Southern politicians, who would ban them completely from the all-important Democratic primaries—then we may well ask ourselves just what the "Four Freedoms" for which we are fighting in this war amount to. No society is a truly democratic society which shuts out anywhere from a quarter to a half of its people from all part in the choice of the officials under whom they must live and work.

Through Shadow To Substance

THE NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN

By a second momentous decision upon the suffrage the U. S. Supreme Court has cut through various monumental pretenses—including its own—to establish more firmly the American republic.

The present ruling comes on a Texas case in which the issue was the right of a Negro citizen, otherwise properly qualified to vote, to vote in a Democratic primary.

In a 1941 ruling on a case rising from Louisiana, the court recognized the fact that primary elections are actual machinery of the elective process by which representatives of the people in the national Congress are chosen. The fact already was obvious. It was obvious, too, that if our nation is to endure as a republic, it must, as its constitution directs, guarantee a republican form of government to all of its people. The court now, consistent with the 1941 assertion, and with common sense, has declared that elections may not be capriciously closed to the people who are governed by their decisions.

The right to vote was the issue.

Thus constitutional protection is affirmed for that "underlying principle of democracy which makes the will of an unfettered majority controlling" and for comparison and extension we may again read that pronouncement of our own Tennessee Supreme Court this newspaper often has quoted:

"So it is, that restraint upon plenary participation, and the effect of such participation, in a primary election, as in a regular election, is destructive of the very basis of either system."

The ruling of the Supreme Court in the Texas case has an importance that goes far beyond the color question: its implication reaches to the plight of all citizens from whom the right to vote, the right to "representation of their own choosing," is for any capricious reason or undemocratic purpose denied.

As a believer in democracy, the *Tennessean* felicitates the people upon the increasing willingness of the Supreme Court to face and declare the political realities, to overthrow temporization—including its own—which have offered the people the shadow instead of the substance of sovereignty. For plainly the difference between the present and the past attitude of the court is the difference between straight thinking and devious thinking, between honest statement and anemic words.

For 150 years we have lived under the guarantees of a republic. But a republic rests on an unfettered *right to vote.* It is high time that right should receive in courts and legislatures the respect and protection due to the cornerstone of the structure.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

". . . While the decision is a shock to the South, and will be generally regretted as coming at this time, it has been made—and it cannot be ignored.

"The states most affected must study its effect; must examine their own codes; may need to call special sessions to set up adequate and fair regulations within the meaning of the court's decision. But above all, it must be done without hysteria or violence. It is possible . . . that the problem is not as serious as first appears.

"It can be solved fairly and within the meaning of the decision.

"It must be solved without precipitating a breach in our national solidarity."

LOUISVILLE COURIER-JOURNAL

"The Supreme Court, in its eight-to-one decision in the case of a Texas Negro excluded from a Houston primary, has upheld logic, justice, and the plain intent of the Constitution."

CHARLESTON NEWS AND COURIER

Calls for abolition of the primary and return to the convention system of choosing candidates.

"Conventions and caucuses to nominate may meet in private houses, in sitting rooms, or around supper tables.

"The South Carolina Negroes are even now preparing to crash the white primaries. . . . There should remain no South Carolina primaries to crash.

"To retain it (primary system) and admit 300,000 Negro men and women to vote in it would make South Carolina uninhabitable by decent white people."

JACKSON (MISS.) DAILY NEWS

"The United States Supreme Court rules that Negroes can vote in party primaries . . . including Democratic party primaries. . . .

"They can't in Mississippi. The Supreme Court may think so, but it is quite wrong, insofar as Democratic primary elections in Mississippi are concerned. If anybody doubts that, let 'em try it!"

The South and Congress

By Helen Fuller

Nine Senators from the thirteen Southern states are up for re-election this year. Two of these, Senator Lister Hill of Alabama and Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, have already been renominated, tantamount to re-election, after difficult and impressive campaigns. The victories of Pepper and Hill, the most outstanding Southern Senators of recent years, are already having great influence on the contests for the other seven Senate seats to be filled in this election.

On May the 27th, North Carolina voters will probably decide between former Governor Clyde R. Hooey and former Governor and present Representative Cameron Morrison to fill the seat left vacant by Robert Rice Reynolds' decision against standing for reelection. Marvin Rich, Charlotte Attorney, and Giles Newton, also in the running, are not expected to draw many votes away from the two principal contenders. North Carolina progressives who have suffered from the shame of having Reynolds misrepresent them in the United States Senate during a critical period of our history with his isolationism and his home-grown kind of fascism are vastly relieved by the present prospects. Both Hooey and Morrison are incomparably superior to Reynolds and North Carolina would not need to be ashamed of either man. However, many of those who know of Governor Hooey's close connections with large capital interests through a native North Carolinian, Robert M. Haines, now a New York banker and finance chairman of the Hearst newspapers, and through Haines' Washington representative, another former governor of North Carolina, Hooey's brother-in-law, O. Max Gardner, a top Washington lobbyist for the big interests, incline toward Cam Morrison. Mr. Morrison has made a good record in his two years in the House of Representatives. He has voted for labor, for the farmer, and for stabilizing our domestic economy more consistently than almost any other member of the North Carolina delegation.

Rankin of Mississippi

On the fourth of July, Georgia and Mississippi will hold their primary elections. Neither of Mississippi's Senators' terms expire this year, but special interest centers on Representative John Rankin's district where the Reverend Hamilton, an Episcopalian minister, is a strong opponent. Reverend Hamilton has a strong following among church people of all denominations and among the farmers and schoolteachers for whom he has long urged better pay. There are 1600 railway union members in the district who do not like Rankin's anti-labor record.

Senator Walter F. George is generally expected to win renomination in the Georgia primary. He has only one opponent, John Goolsby, a politically unknown. Goolsby comes from a Georgia farm family and has worked as a salesman in various businesses. His campaign talk has been aimed chiefly at the little man, farmers and workers, and some Georgia observers believe that he will attract a considerable protest vote aaginst George.

On July 11, Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma will be challenged by 24 opponents, 12 Democrats, 10 Republicans and two independents. Three-time Lieutenant-Governor James E. Berry is the principal contender on the Democratic side. On the Republican side, State Senator William Otjen, recent contender for the governorship, is expected to make the strongest race. Wirt Franklin, wealthy independent oil man, has withdrawn in Otjen's favor.

Dies and Sumners of Texas

Progressives in Texas have their eyes on Martin Dies' and Hatton Sumners' districts. The fate of Joe Starnes in the recent Alabama primaries has given encouragement to voters in Dies' district who object not only to Dies' persecution of labor and liberals but especially to the fact that he devotes little or no attention to protecting the interests of his district. Up in Dallas County, the 5th Texas Congressional district, now represented by Sumners, the United Automobile Workers (CIO) have done an especially thorough job of mobilizing war workers from the aircraft and other plants in the area for political action. Registration figures for the district are reported to have doubled over registration for 1940 and most of the new registrations are presumably from labor. Sumners has cause for fear.

Filing date for the Virginia primaries, August 1, has passsed. and progressives' chief Virginia enemy, Representative Howard Smith of the eighth district is unopposed for the Democratic nomination. There is a strong possibility, however, that an independent candidate will be entered in the race. It will be two more years before the voters of Virginia get another crack at Senator Harry Flood Byrd.

Senate Majority Leader Alben Barkley of Kentucky is thus far unopposed for the Democratic nomination in the August 5th primaries. On the Republican side, James Parks, commonwealth attorney of Lexington, is considered the most likely to have the backing of the State Republican machine. Democratic party leaders discount the talk of a Republican swing in Kentucky based on the recent special election. They contend that Democratic defeat in that case was primarily a personality fight and that the Democrats will recapture that district in 1944. Senator Barkley will probably have a real campaign on his hands but it is not likely that he or his opponents will start active campaigning until after the conventions.

In Arkansas, Senator Hattie Caraway has real opposition in the August 8th primaries. Already filed against her are Governor Homer Atkins, Colonel T. H. Barton, an oil man, Representative William Fulbright, and Rosser Venable, a perennial candidate.

Significance of 1944 Elections

The tremendous responsibility which the United States Senate bears in the making of the peace has aroused unusual interest in this year's Senatorial races throughout the country and throughout the world. Our Allies of the United Nations have a watchful eye on our national elections, for they know the kind of Senator the people of Alabama or South Carolina may choose to elect has much to do with their future as well as ours. Southern Senators, on the whole, have had a better than average record on foreign affairs. Of those whose terms expire this year, only Senator Reynolds, Senator Overton and Senator Smith have failed to support three most important foreign policy matters that have come before the 78th Congress—the Connally resolution, the appropriation bill for UNRRA, and the O'Mahoney amendment to the Trade Agreements Act. But it is now appalling clear to almost everyone that it will be impossible for the United States to take its place in a strong international organization to preserve peace without the kind of strong domestic policy required to create and maintain full employment and full production in this country. Aside from Senator Pepper and Senator Hill, none of the Southern Senators whose terms expire this year have domestic records meriting them support on these points.

The problems of industrial reconversion and economic development which will face us in the years immediately following this war will fall more heavily on the still unindustrialized South than on any other section of the country. Forward-looking Southerners must look closely into the records of their representatives and devote themselves completely to political action if the South is to carry its share of our post-war job.

The Southern PATRIOT

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Alabama - Florida Primaries

The most significant aspect of the primary victories of Sen. Lister Hill of Alabama and Sen. Claude Pepper of Florida is the convincing proof of the continuing and whole-hearted support in the South for the New Deal and for the President, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

A second lesson from these two campaigns is the waning power of an appeal to race prejudice to get votes. Huge billboards in Alabama, in addition to a large likeness of Simpson, featured two slogans, "bureaucracy" and "white supremacy." The Simpson forces outstripped even Gene Talmadge in appealing to race prejudice.

A newspaper, the *Alabama Sun*, containing nothing but race material flooded the news stands. A special race issue of the reactionary *Greensboro Watchman* stuffed the rural mail boxes of the state. Over the radio and in the press the race theme was thundered until it brought a revulsion of feeling among people of good will that no doubt was an important contributing factor in Simpson's defeat.

The rejection at the polls in recent months in five Southern states of candidates who sought office by appealing primarily to race prejudice is an indication that the electorate of the South is becoming politically literate.

Since reconstruction days Southern Congessmen who voted against legislation favorable to the common man, who promoted tax programs favoring the big corporations that elected them, have sought to divert attention from their reactionary records in Washington by appealing to "white supremacy" at home, hoping by that subterfuge to avert discussion of fundamental economic issues. The theme has become threadbare.

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Such misleaders as O'Daniel, Rankin, Bilbo, Smith and Cox, with their fascist trappings, are political anachronisms. These poll taxers, elected by as little as 1% of their electorate, never represented more than a small minority. The South should not be judged by their mumbo-jumbo, by their anti-semitism, their appeals to race-hate and other false issues.

Although its voice is heard but rarely in the halls of Congress, there is a large and rapidly growing liberal South today. Its spokesmen are such persons as: DR. FRANK P. GRAHAM, HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS, BISHOP PAUL B. KERN, RABBI HENRY COHEN, ARCHBISHOP LUCEY, VIRGINIUS DABNEY, DR. CLARK H. FOREMAN, RALPH MCGILL, BISHOP ARTHUR J. MOORE, DR. WILL ALEXANDER, JUSTICE HUGO BLACK, DR. CHARLES S. JOHNSON, DR. HARCOURT MORGAN, DR. HOMER P. RAINEY, MARK ETHERIDGE, JENNINGS PERRY, ROSCOE DUNGEE, DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL, ANDREW J. HIGGINS, LUCY R. MASON, DONALD COMER, DR. GOODRICH C. WHITE, MRS. MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE, HERBERT AGAR, DR. F. D. PATTERSON, PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, DR. ALVA W. TAYLOR, GEORGE GOOGE, DAVID S. LILIENTHAL, MORTIMER MAY, DR. ALBERT E. BARNETT, LILLIAN SMITH, ALTON LAWRENCE, CLIFFORD S. DURR, WILLIAM MITCH, HOLLIS V. REID, BISHOP THEODORE D. BRATTON, JAMES DERRIEUX, HENRY SIMS, JAMES CHAPPELL, DR. ARTHUR RAPER, DR. JOHN B. THOMPSON, JUDGE LOUISE O. CHARLTON, DR. HOWARD ODUM, LOUIS BURNHAM, MRS. M. E. TILLEY, MRS. JESSIE DANIEL AMES, DR. H. C. NIXON, to mention only a few names selected at random. The list could be continued indefinitely.

The distinguishing characteristic of this group is not unanimity of opinion, for they hold divergent views on many issues. What marks them off from the old type leaders is that they are looking forward rather than backward.

These are the men and women eager to win this war against fascism and to establish a peace where equal economic and cultural opportunity will be available to all.

Liberal spokesmen of the New South are helping us to apply to contemporary situations the old and tested values of democracy, equality, freedom and brotherhood, values upon which this nation has been nurtured from its birth. They also will supply practical leadership in the use of new techniques in science, education, industry, agriculture, labor and administration that will enable the Southern region to achieve the maximum good from its bountiful natural and human resources in the period after the war.

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Almost without debate and with no record vote the Senate passed Sen. Walter George's Postwar Planning Committee's bill opening the way for prime contractors to make millions. Only man on the floor to fight the bill was Sen. Harley M. Kilgore, of W. Va., who has introduced a bill, S. 1895, in the Senate to permit orderly demobilization with adequate safeguards for small contractors, labor and the public interest.

You have backed the attack with bonds, bandages, blood, prayers, but it is not enough. Join in the fight to kill the poll tax and for a free ballot. Safeguard democracy at home. Telegraph your Senators today.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Timber!

THIS FASCINATING LUMBER BUSINESS. By Stanley F. Horn. Bobbs-Merrill Co. 328 pp. $3.75.

The editor of the SOUTHERN LUMBERMAN, Stanley F. Horn, is well qualified to write an authoritative book on the lumber industry, and he has brought together a wealth of interesting and useful information.

"Although the South," writes Mr. Horn, "is generally considered to be an agrarian region, almost 60% of its entire area is still in forest growth and less than 30% of it is in cultivation."

In 1940 the South produced 13½ billion feet of lumber (46.5% of the total). The South and West together account for 92½ of the Nation's total.

Many of the facts would be appropriate for a believe-it-or-not column. Consider cypress. The cypress doors and exposed woodwork of Fort San Marco (Fort Marion) at St. Augustine is still sound after 350 years. If that sounds incredible, cypress stumps said to be a million years old, entirely free from decay, have been unearthed in Maryland.

In contrast to most conservationists, the author states there is no reason to be disturbed about the future of our timber reserves. On this point we question whether the author has given sufficient consideration to the wartime drain on our reserves, and to the fact that the developing plastic industry and the requirements of an economy of abundance demand a greatly expanded supply of timber.

Lyle F. Watts, Chief, Forest Service, in an address to the Southern Forestry Conference, Atlanta, Jan. 20, 1944, said that the "wartime drain is almost twice our current annual growth," and to meet future demands adequately "it will be necessary to double annual growth in the South."

To be sure the lumber industry is "fascinating," but the author has overlooked entirely the most absorbing element of all, the men and women whose toil and sweat makes the industry possible.

The lumber industry is one of the wost "sweated" industries, with low wages and, especially in the South, deplorable working conditions, in many instances little better than peonage.

In 1939-40 hourly earnings of lumber workers in the South averaged 34.6c against 72.7c in the West. About half of all Southern workers earned exactly 30c, or $12.00 for a 40-hour week*

A man trying to raise a family on $2.40 a day is not apt to think of the lumber industry as exactly "fascinating."

Some years ago some timber workers in the Cumberland mountains of Tennessee went on strike, formed a union, and started picketing the woods. Item one in their stated purpose: "To Save the Forest;" item two, "To Improve Conditions." Said their leader, Henry Thomas, "It takes a sharp axe, a strong back, and a weak mind to cut bug-wood (acid-wood) for 75c a cord."—J. A. D.

*Hourly Earnings in the Lumber and Timber Products Industry. U. S. Dept. of Labor, BLS, 1941.

On Understanding Liberty

LIBERTY CONCEPTS IN LABOR RELATIONS. By BYRON ABERNATHY. American Council on Public Affairs, Washington, D. C. 119 pp., $2.50. Cloth $2.00.

To the manufacturers association liberty means something quite different than it does to a union. The Wagner Act, Wage and Hour, and Social Security Laws are regarded by labor as enhancing its liberties. The same legislation, and the government responsible for it, is termed "tyranny" by the National Association of Manufacturers.

Discussing the need for a better definition of liberty, Abraham Lincoln used this illustration:

"The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act as the destroyer of liberty, especially as the sheep was a black one. Plainly, the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty; and precisely the same difference prevails today among us human creatures. . ."

Very little is gained in a discussion of abstract "liberty." What is needed is consideration of specific liberties in the light of the needs for the entire community, an undertaking in which this compact little book by Dr. Abernathy is of inestimable help. It takes up such fundamental liberties as: Freedom of Enterprise, Freedom of Contract, Freedom of Property, Freedom to Bargain Collectively, Freedom to Strike, Freedom of Association and discusses them in terms of their meaning to specific groups and to the general welfare.

This is a valuable volume to all who seek a better understanding of the problems of government, politics, industry and labor. Incidentally it is a good handbook for the student of social ethics.

Heroes Of The Pacific

TARAWA, THE STORY OF A BATTLE. By ROBERT SHERROD. Duell, Sloan & Pearce, New York. 183 pp. $2.00.

A play-by-play description of the three-day battle for the Tarawa Atoll in the Gilbert Islands, probably the bloodiest and toughest battle in the history of the Marines.

The author, a graduate of the University of Georgia, started his newspaper work on the Atlanta *Constitution*. He was the first correspondent to be sent overseas by *Time*.

The names of many Southerners appear in the story. For example, Lt. William D. Hawkins, of El Paso, Texas, of whom a high-ranking officer said, "It is not often that you can credit a first lieutenant with winning a battle, but Hawkins came as near to it as any man could. He was truly an inspiration.

Sherrod was with the first wave of Marines. He tells how it feels to wade 700 yards to a 20-foot beachhead in the face of deadly machine gun fire that eventually took the lives of more than 300 men.

> "0730: The Marines continue unloading from the Higgins boats, but fewer of them are making the shore now. Many lie down behind the pyramidal concrete barriers the Japs had erected to stop tanks. Others make it as far as the disabled tanks and amphtracks, then lie behind them to size up the chances of making the last hundred yards to shore. There are at least two hundred bodies which do not move at all on the dry flats, or in the shallow water partially covering them. This is worse, far worse than it was yesterday."

This is the battle that was raging while in Washington, Rankin, McKellar, Eastland and company were fighting a federal ballot to give these men a chance to vote.

ONE WHIRL. By Sidney S. Baron. Illustrated by George Grosz. Capitol Publishing Co., New York. 132 pp. $1.50; paper cover, $1.00.

Two eminent satirists, a writer and an artist, have collaborated to produce this hilarious but disturbing account of an imaginative peace conference. It is hard on appeasers. The following quotation, from the introduction by Mortimer Hays, is the perspective from which the book is written.

> "It (democracy) is rooted in trust in the people, through whose will alone it can flourish. True, the people can be fooled and thwarted . . . but not for long. The Francos, Lavals, Emanuels, Horthys and assorted stooges and Quislings who fear and despise them, can but delay their ultimate victory. They are 'the last best hope of earth'."

Alabamians Condemn Race Antagonism

Charging that current attempts being made to stir up antagonism between the races are a serious threat to Alabama's war production, in face of the impending invasion of Europe, 400 leading white Alabamians issued a statement calling on all patriotic citizens to condemn every effort through press and radio to arouse race hatred.

"We consider it our sacred obligation to Alabamians in the armed forces and their fathers and mothers at home to protest the actions of those men and newspapers which seek to disturb the present peaceful relations between the races and divert the attention of Alabama from the cause of speedy victory," the statement said.

The signers included many ministers, superintendents of education, teachers, probate judges, mayors, union leaders, women's organizations, physicians, and housewives, from every section of the State. The signers deplored especially the injection of the race issue into Alabama's political campaign, expressing the belief that "those who resort to such tactics misjudge the people of Alabama and their devotion to the democratic faith and the ideal of Christian brotherhood."

The statement in full reads:

"We, the undersigned citizens of Alabama, are proud of the traditions of our great state and of the part that all its people are playing in this war. We are proud of the thousands of Alabama's young men and women who serve in all branches of our armed forces. Our industrial leaders, the working men and women of our state, the vast number of our farmers have a record of war service of which the entire nation can be proud.

"American armed forces, among them the finest sons of Alabama, now await the signal for the invasion of fascist Europe. Now more than ever have we Alabamians a stake in keeping our war production in farm and factory uninterrupted. For this reason we view with patriotic alarm any effort to stir up racial strife and hatred among the people of Alabama.

"We consider it our sacred obligation to Alabamians in the armed forces and to their fathers and mothers at home to protest the actions of those men and those newspapers which seek to disturb the present peaceful relations between the races, and divert the attention of Alabama from the cause of speedy victory.

"It is our conviction that all papers, whether Negro or white, which incite race hatred, constitute a serious threat to Alabama's war production.

"We especially deplore the injection of the race issue into Alabama's political campaign. We believe that those who resort to such tactics misjudge the people of Alabama and their devotion to the democratic faith and the ideal of Christian brotherhood.

"In the same patriotic "spirit of neighborliness" as the citizens of Dallas County evidenced in their condemnation of the *Greensboro Watchman*, we call upon patriotic citizens to condemn all efforts now being made by press and radio to arouse or stimulate race and religious hatred and antagonism among our people, and to strengthen our common effort for a speedy victory and a lasting peace."

Partial list of signers listed in their individual capacities. Organizations are listed for identification only.

S. D. Bayer, Supt. Greene Co. Schools; E. R. Bowman, Gen. Sec'y YMCA, Mobile; Judge Louise O. Charlton, U. S. Commissioner, Birmingham; Mrs. Pearl B. Campbell and Lt. J. B. Campbell, Montgomery; James Chrisberg, Principal, Haltville High School; Professor E. H. Ervin, State Training College, Troy; President Ross Ensminger, Southern Union College; Rev. Tweedy Foster, First Christian Church, Cullman; H. Clifton Fannell, Supt. of Schools, Tuscaloosa; Rev. W. L. Gilmore, Columbia Avenue Presbyterian Church, Sheffield; Robert S. Gordon, Attorney, Birmingham; Margaret E. Harris, Supervisor, Pike Co. Schools; T. L. Head, Asst. Supt. of Education, Montgomery; W. Earl Hotalen, Exec. Sec'y Alabama Temperance Alliance; Rev. James D. Hunter, First Methodist Church, Ensley; Carey B. Haigler, Asst. Reg. Dir. CIO, Birmingham; Professor Paul Irving, Auburn; J. A. Johnson, Judge of Probate, DeKalb Co.; Beatrice M. Kaufman, Council of Jewish Federations; Robert M. Lanier, Pres. Alabama Federation of Labor, Sheffield; Mrs. J. H. McCoy, Alabama Woman's College, Montevallo; J. C. McGough, Judge of Probate, Fayette Co.; A. B. McKenzie, M. D., Tuscaloosa; Kathleen Mallory, Exec. Sec'y Woman's Missionary Union, Southern Baptist Church; Rev. A. E. Middlebrooks, Editor, Alabama Christian Advocate; Ulus Eugene Mims, Advisor YMCA, University; William Mitch, Pres. Dis. 20, United Mine Workers of America; Dean A. B. Moore, University of Alabama; William W. Monroe, Solicitor 24th Judicial Circuit; President E. R. Taylor, Athens College; Mrs. J. B. Naylor, Athens College; Mrs. J. B. Nichols, Sec'y Dept. of Christian Social Relations, Methodist Women's Society of Christian Service; Alexander Nunn, Loachapoka; Rev. A. J. O'Reilly, S.S.J., Birmingham; D. R. Price, Exec. Sec'y Birmingham Sunday School Council; Rev. J. C. Pritchard, Baptist Church Heflin; Rev. John L. Slaughter, First Baptist Church, Birmingham; Professor Vernon Sims, University of Alabama; E. W. Strange, Asst. Gen. Chmn. Southern Railway Train Dispatchers; Rev. Capers Satterlee, Christ Church, Birmingham; Mr. and Mrs. Albert L. Thomas, Auburn; R. H. Walker, Editor, Limestone Democrat; Rev. Daniel C. Whitsett, St. Mark's Methodist Church, Montgomery.

Historic Words

"The United States is a constitutional democracy. Its organic law grants to all citizens a right to participate in the choice of elected officials without restriction by any state because of race. This grant to the people of the opportunity for choice is not to be nullified by a state through casting its electorial process in a form which permits a private organization to practice racial discrimination in the election. Constitutional rights would be of little value if they could be thus indirectly denied."

—From the Supreme Court Decision in the Texas Primary Case.

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Rep. Percy Priest, Tennessee Congressman

". . . Every citizen of the United States, regardless of race, creed or color, has the right guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States to exercise all of the privileges of citizenship, and in that connection to vote in any primary or general election so long as he complies with the qualification prescribed by the laws of the state in which he is a legal resident. I do not see how the Supreme Court could reach any other conclusion on the basic right."

Attorney Horace Edwards, Chairman, Virginia State Democratic Committee

"I think the Supreme Court's decision is absolutely sound in reversing the Texas stand of refusing Negroes a right to vote in primaries. We do not have such a situation in Virginia because Negroes are permitted to vote in all elections be they primary or general.

"I endorse Negroes or persons of any color participating in party primaries if they are members of the party conducting the election. Every man, regardless of his color, should be permitted to participate in and should be encouraged to take an active part in politics and his party affiliation."

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Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution

Article XV. "Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

"Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

United, Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers, CIO, announce the signing of a contract April 13 with Reynolds Tobacco Co., (Camels, Prince Albert, etc.) largest cigarette factory in the world, covering 12,000 workers in Winston-Salem, N. C.